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The first white man who settled on the island was Eugène Eyraud, a layman of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Picpus. He landed in Hanga-roa at the beginning of 1863, with some Easter Islanders who had been rescued from a Peruvian ship. The natives were not hostile to him, but they stole most of his goods. During the first year spent among the islanders, Eyraud was constantly exposed to larcenies, especially by one native, Toro-meti, who had made himself a benevolent but tyrannic protector of the missionary. The natives tried to put to practical use the knowledge of Eyraud by obliging him to build a boat. At the time when his life was becoming unbearable, a schooner with two priests arrived and took him back to Chile. Two years later, Eyraud returned to Easter Island, accompanied by Father Hyppolyte Roussel and three Mangarevans who had joined the missionaries to help in the conversion of the natives. At first the natives were openly opposed to the missionaries and hampered their work, but little by little they showed more willingness to learn prayers and hymns and in less than ten months the missionary and his assistants had gained strong influence over them. In the same year (1866) new missionaries went to the island—Father Gaspard Zumbohm and Brother Theodule Escolan.

Christianity made rapid progress among the Easter Islanders. The first to be converted were the children, a few adults, and then the women. The most refractory were the old chiefs. The missionaries had their headquarters at Hanga-roa but tried to spread their teachings throughout the island. Their success was almost complete when the chief of Hotu-iti received them with great ceremony. When, a few hours before his death in 1868, Brother Eyraud asked whether all the natives had been baptized, Roussel could answer that all were Christians. The last pagan had been taken into the church a few days before at the Feast of Assumption (113, pp. 90-154). Henceforth the natives were concentrated at Hanga-roa and Vaihu where they could receive a Christian education and be under the control of the missionaries.

Profound changes took place in the material situation of the natives in the course of four or five years. The missionaries spread new arts and crafts and taught the islanders to build plank houses and to make furniture. The beautiful fig trees of the village of Hanga-roa were planted by Father Roussel, and at that time were introduced the first oranges, peaches, corn, pumpkins, and beans. In 1864 Eyraud had taken with him some sheep, which the natives stole and ate. Five years later, Father Roussel returned from a visit to Chile with a shipload of cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, donkeys, and even cats, for rats were abundant on that island.

Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first

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Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first contact between European and native cultures are the anecdotes told by Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 666): 177 152

> When the first horse was taken ashore the natives were greatly excited. "Some ran away as fast as they could, others lay on the ground. Those who were sufficiently brave to consider the strange thing a bit closer were not a little amazed when they saw the animal divide into two pieces when the rider dismounted." The islanders seem to have realized what a marvelous invention the wheel was. "When the wheelbarrow was loaded and set in motion, our islanders shouted with sheer admiration; the turning wheel was to them a living thing."
>
> In 1935, officers of the *Mercator* rode bicycles on the island. Though the natives were acquainted with cars and other vehicles, the bicycles created genuine bewilderment. Many made the sign of the cross and muttered "Tatane", expressing thus the fear that the device was the work of the devil.

In 1868 the English battleship *Topaze* visited the island and took away the statue called Hoa-haka-nana-ia, which stood in a house of Orongo. Palmer (171), the surgeon on the ship, made a rapid survey of the island and went as far as Rano-raraku, which he described for the first time. His scanty information about native life shows how greatly the old culture had been impaired. The most valuable data were given him by Roussel. 114 175

Captain Ignacio L. Gana, who has written a much-quoted treatise (86) about the island, visited it on the Chilean corvette *O'Higgins*, which stopped there in 1870. All of Gana's information derives from Roussel; unfortunately the Chilean officer either misunderstood or altered the original statements of the missionary so that his information is misleading.

The successful work of the missionaries was brutally interrupted in 1870 by the activities of a French adventurer, Dutroux-Bornier, who settled on the island. Dutroux-Bornier bought from the natives, for some pieces of cloth, the place called Mataveri, one of the most fertile lands of the island. Later he associated—for the exploitation of the island—with a wealthy trader of Tahiti, Mr. Brander. Very soon Dutroux-Bornier quarreled with the missionaries and started an open war against them. He was supported by the natives who had left the village of Hanga-roa to live with him in Mataveri and by the people of Anakena who were envious of those of Hanga-roa. Toro-meti, who seems to have been a chief or a man with considerable influence, joined Dutroux-Bornier. The people of Mataveri made several raids, which were reciprocated by the people of Hanga-roa. A war broke out in which the huts of both sides were burned and some men killed. Dutroux-Bornier went so far as to shell the village with gunfire. Every day Dutroux-Bornier's men plundered Hanga-roa and Vaihu which were at last entirely destroyed. Finally Bishop Tepano Jaussen ordered the missionaries to depart from a place where no more work could be done. The same year Brander sent a boat to Easter Island to recruit part of the population for his plantations in Tahiti. He had promised that this boat would carry all the natives willing to settle with the 175 121 197 167 175

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rumors, and are easily convinced that others nourish bad intentions toward them. The most serious recent conflict occurred in 1914 (194, pp. 141-149); the natives, encouraged by an old woman named Angata, killed a great many animals and claimed possession of the cattle and land. The uprising was provoked by the action of a white man, but Angata kindled the animosity of the natives by dreams in which God supposedly revealed His will to her. Sure of divine protection, they became very daring. The agitation finally subsided, as such things usually do among the natives who indulge in novelties and soon grow tired of them. There have been more recent disturbances, but none so grave as that witnessed by Routledge. However, since the natives are constantly incited against the company, it is probable that trouble will again arise.

The most interesting aspect of the culture of present-day natives is their very sincere and deep attachment to the Catholic church, though the missionaries did not stay long on the island. The last pagans were baptized only two years before the destruction of the mission. After the departure of the missionaries, the island was without a priest for 16 years. In 1886 Father Hippolyte Roussel returned to the island for 6 months. He was accompanied by Father Albert Montiton. Later, several priests visited the island but stayed only a short time. Recently some Chilean priests have remained longer, among them Father Bienvenido Estella, who has written an account of his experience in Easter Island (80). However, for various reasons, no priest resides there permanently and rites are performed by a catechist of Mangarevan origin. Every day the natives gather in the church to make their prayers together; on Sunday they celebrate a kind of mass, and four times a week they spiritually associate themselves with the masses celebrated throughout the world. The hymns taught by the French missionaries are still sung in the church and the tradition is kept alive by a singing school, presided over by women whose mothers had received the teachings of missionaries. The grip of Christianity has been so strong that very few pagan beliefs or practices have survived. The fear of ghosts and the importance given to prayers are the only traces of primitive religion.

METEOROLOGY

Nights of the Moon

The old Polynesian system of counting time by lunar months in which each night had an individual name was abandoned by the natives when they became Christians. The new faith could not be adapted without the Roman calendar upon which are based all the feasts prescribed by the Catholic Church. The natives are so scrupulous in observance of these holy days that it is not surprising that the European calendar has entirely superseded the primitive system of reckoning time. The old life was so deeply transformed by contact

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have been most frequent among the chiefly women. Unfortunate love, spite, jealousy, and hurt vanity were probably the main causes of suicide. It is probable that suicide has not occurred recently as I do not remember having a single case mentioned to me by natives.

Concepts of Life after Death

There are two contradictory statements about the Easter Island beliefs concerning the after life. These may contain some truth but are probably superficial and inaccurate statements. The more ancient and the more reliable information is that of Roussel, who says (190, p. 495):

> After death the soul of a person went to a foreign country where the degree of his happiness depended upon the extent to which he had respected tapus during his life. If the soul was happy (well dressed) it remained forever in the new country. If it was unhappy (poorly dressed), it returned to harass its relatives.

Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 120) expresses the same general idea, but adds that the souls of bad people stay near the corpses and suffer hunger and thirst in proportion to their wickedness. It has already been shown that the latter belief justified the food offerings put on the graves (p. 118).

This view of the future life is probably too ingenuous to be the true conception of the learned natives. Another version of the same problem, collected by Geiseler (87, p. 31) many years later, associates the destiny of souls with the god Makemake who kills and eats the souls of the wicked dead, while the souls of the good are allowed to rest on the island under his protection. The unburied dead can see Makemake when he comes for them and thus may escape him. Geiseler (87, p. 30) mistook the hen houses scattered about the island for sepulchers and made the erroneous statement that the dead of high rank were put into a stone house that had two holes through which their souls might escape when pursued by Makemake. Beliefs concerning ghosts and the uncanny appearance of souls of the dead have been dealt with elsewhere (pp. 318-320).

There is a belief, expressed in legends, that the souls of the departed were helpful to their relatives and sent them material favors. One father promised his son before his death that he would send him a tree, another foretold the coming of a turtle (p. 372). These gifts were exclusively destined to the persons designated by the dead man; if other people attempted to appropriate them the gifts were withdrawn. The same belief existed in the Tuamotus.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Very little information on social organization can be found in the missionaries' accounts of Easter Island. This is not due to lack of interest but rather to the series of catastrophes which befell Easter Island immediately preceding the advent of the missionaries and which removed from the tribes their

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ancient social importance. When Eyraud landed in 1863, the population was distributed in Hanga-roa, Anakena, perhaps Vaihu, and the district surrounding Rano-raraku. The missionaries concentrated the population in a single village and thus broke the last connections of the individuals with their ancestral territory. The memory of the old order survived with remarkable tenacity and as late as 1914 Routledge was able to obtain from aged natives references to lineage groups and their respective distribution. Williamson incorporated some unpublished material given him by Routledge in his study of the Easter Island political system (228, vol. 1, pp. 384-409). My study is based upon Routledge, Williamson, and new evidence which I obtained from natives.

TRIBES

Until recently the entire population of Easter Island was divided into ten paternal descent groups, called "clans" by Routledge. However, the word clan is too definite to be accurate here. I prefer the more general and more appropriate term tribe (*mata*). Although more than two thirds of the present population of Easter Island is composed of half-castes, each native knows to which tribe he belongs, either through his father, or, if the father is a foreigner, through his mother.

Probably at one time every tribe had its own territory which was known by the name of the group. Later the tribes became more scattered and isolated members or entire households of one tribe lived within the limits of another district; in some regions along the coast representatives of more than three groups were mixed. The old territorial divisions thus came to be mere districts where the main part of the *mata*, perhaps the senior line, was settled, and had little to do with the actual distribution of the tribes.

The spreading of the members of a tribe outside of the district bearing the name of the *mata* might have been the consequence of intermarriage and probably also of adoption if the adopted children kept their relationship to the paternal group. Certainly war was an agent of diffusion. Legends frequently allude to defeated people who asked for the protection of some relative among the victors. Members of the tribe which had been crushed in a war became prisoners or subjects (*kio*) of the victors. The *kio* were treated as slaves. Gana (86, p. 34) writes:

> The vanquished men fell as captives to the victor who carried off everything belonging to them including their wives and daughters. The conquered persons were forced to cultivate the ground of their owners. When the victor became tired of his slave as consequence of his age or of some illness, he drove him away and gave him permission to attend to his own affairs. The defeated man, fearing to be made a slave a second time, cultivated only a tenth of the land needed to support him and his family. He preferred to starve rather than arouse the jealousy of his enemies. According to the missionaries and other people with experience in this matter the fear of slavery has been one of the principal factors in decimating the Easter Island people who have become emaciated and consumptive.

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836 by the people as a necking party is in the United States. There is seldom, if ever,
any secrecy surrounding such momentary love matches, and whereas the girls come
[522] in for a certain amount of joking from the older people, it is the boys who bear
the greater brunt of the jokes. A term commonly heard in such joking sessions is
that of *muy tatani* (very devilish) and it is used to describe the feelings of a young
[797] man or woman toward his, or her, partner. Such premarital affairs are regarded
as quite normal and natural, in spite of the nominal acceptance of the Catholic
[892] faith, and, as my workmen once pointed out, a young man is naturally *muy toro*
and must have his girls and stay up late at night. However, when a person reaches
the age of about thirty he is described as being only *medio torito*.

848 Should a child be born out of wedlock there is never a curse on mother, child,
or father. On Easter Island, as in many parts of the rural world, a large family
[842] is looked upon as highly desirable since the children can eventually help with the
work. With this concept well entrenched in the culture of the island, a girl bring-
ing a child with her into marriage constitutes an advantageous acquisition.

431 A side light on the problems of courting comes from a statement made by
836 Martin Rapu, one of our foremen. Martin reflected that when he was young and
unmarried (he is now twenty-two and was married at twenty) he changed girls
often and it was much trouble and quiet costly, for he had to give each new girl
[581] presents from time to time. Finally his father advised him to get married, for he,
the father, could no longer afford the gifts that Martin needed each time he
changed girls. Martin then added that he had found married life a lot calmer and
more peaceful than that of his premarital years.

584 When a boy has finally decided upon the girl he wants to marry he may ask
for her through her parents in one of two ways. He may go personally to the girl's
father or mother and ask for the girl. If he is accepted he returns home immedi-
ately and notifies his father of the fact. The father then goes to the house of the
girl's parents and the two families give a party to which their respective extended
family relatives are invited. Both families join in furnishing liquor and food for the
affair, though the boy's father may go through the ceremony of pouring the first
[583] round of drinks. At this time there appears to be a small exchange of gifts be-
tween the families, apparently no more than a token exchange, for Jorge mentioned
that a little money might change hands, but in telling of it he did not seem to
regard it as much of anything.

The second method of arranging a marriage is for the youth to tell his father of the girl he wishes to marry. It then becomes the father's duty to go to the house of the girl and, bringing with him a little liquor, ask the father or mother of the girl for permission for his son to marry her. Consent appears to be primarily

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DIVORCE

Island marriage appears to be a firmer institution today than it was in the not-too-distant past. This is in part due to Chilean governmental authority backing the church in its taboo against divorce. When divorces do occur, they tend to follow the early Polynesian custom of an unceremonious departure of one of the mates. Owing to the island's government frowning upon such action, and its active interest in making the natives understand that the question of divorce is a legal matter, the Easter Islander's attitude toward divorce is at present in a state of flux.

Jorge Tepano reflected the church and governmental attitude when, in discussing the problem, he took the firm stand that divorce could only be obtained on the basis of adultery and that it was for the governor, in his capacity of judge, to determine who was the guilty party and to make a property settlement on the basis of existing Chilean laws. However, this strongly acculturated view is not necessarily adhered to most commonly. Governor Curti informed me of the marriage of a forty-five year old native to a girl of seventeen. This man built a home alongside that of the girl's parents in an effort to make her comfortable, but the girl refused to live with him in the new house. Becoming angry, he tore the house down and put it up on his own parcel of land, demanding that the girl come to live with him. She again refused, and the matter was taken before the governor. There apparently is no law that specifically demands that a wife live with her husband or, if it exists, it is unenforceable on the island. After various attempts at persuasion, the governor used his prerogative of turning over the woman's ration allowance of foods and dry goods to her husband, but when I left the island this action had had no effect upon the woman, her own family having taken up the burden of supporting her. Officially, as long as the girl did not legally marry again, her action could only be looked upon as a separation, though in native eyes it constitutes a divorce in the old style and is accepted as such. Whereas marriages solemnized by civil and religious ceremonies run into legal difficulties in the event of a divorce, common law marriages appear not to have this difficulty, in spite of the fact that, though legally not recognized, they are tacitly accepted officially to the extent that in the island's rationing lists such illegal matches are listed as family units.

DEATH

The Easter Islander appears to have no personal fear of death and, for the most part, looks upon it from a rather fatalistic point of view. A notable exception to this is seen in his superstitious attitude toward Rongo Rongo caves, whose

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761 tablets are guarded by "devils" that will, in extreme cases, kill a man who stumbles
[776] upon such a cave and steals one of the tablets.

177 I had no time nor opportunity to delve into any beliefs that might exist regard-
775 ing what happens to a person after death, but I suspect that here the church has
764 made deep inroads, for the dead are now given the last rites of the church and then buried in a Catholic cemetery.

177 Immediately upon the death of an individual a certain amount of grief will be
764 shown by the immediate kin, but this appears to be more the result of natural
797 shock than of any culturally determined mourning pattern. Between the time of death and the holding of last rites, the body is kept on view in the victim's house, after which it is carried in its coffin to the church where the last rites are administered by the island's priest. As the body is carried from the church to the cemetery
[533] the cortege breaks into song. Some of these are of the slow, religious type, but many have an almost gay lilt. During and after the church services there is no overt expression of mourning on the part of the nearest kin, but as the casket is lowered into the ground a near-hysteria of grief breaks out among the closest relatives of the deceased and is explained by my informants on the basis that this is the final separation from a beloved one.

174 Since, as appears to be the case, the strongest impact of death comes with the
177 physical parting of the dead from the living, one cannot help but wonder if this
764 final show of extreme mourning is a direct result of the more abrupt practices of Christian religion rather than an Easter Island trait of long standing. It was not, after all, many years ago that burial exposure was practiced: by this method, at least the fleshy parts of the body disappear slowly over a length of time — it is only after the bones are left that final burial takes place in a tomb, usually a surface stone structure or a vault within the platform of an *ahu*. The change from a long drawn out physical relationship with the body to a sudden disappearance of a body in a pit, and the change from customary surface burial to sub-surface interment must have required considerable psychological adjustment. Today's overt manifestation of extreme grief as the body is lowered into the ground may, therefore, indicate that this adjustment to a new burial practice is not complete. On the other hand it may, perhaps, reflect a mourning pattern formerly used when the fleshless bones were given their final resting place.

765 During the evening of the day of burial the family of the deceased gives a large *umu* feast, often including music and dancing, for all visitors. At this time there are certain taboos with regard to the eating of the *umu* food by the immediate family. Thus, if a father dies neither his brothers and sisters, his children, nor his wife may partake of the food thus prepared. If a child has died neither

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of the parents nor the dead child's brothers and sisters may eat the food. Juan Atan explained this taboo by saying that the *umu* was the dead man's body and, should the immediate family eat it, something bad would happen to the entire extended family. He further explained that such an *umu* must be given by the family, otherwise something terrible would happen to them.

Viewing the *umu* as part of the dead man's body may represent an adoption from the church's taking of the sacrament, yet, considering the earlier practice of cannibalism on the island, such a view may hark back to pre-Christian times.

Originally such a death feast was held on the day of death, but its celebration so irked Father Estella that some years ago he condemned the practice and the natives agreed to hold it on the day after death. It now appears that this has been further modified so that it is held on the day of burial.

STABILITY AND CHANGE

The information reported here is admittedly incomplete. Be this as it may, the data, when compared with Métraux's account of ancient life cycle customs on Easter Island, shows a surprising number of carry-overs into modern times.[7] In the course of our work we have also gathered heretofore unreported information on Rapa-nui customs which seem to be indigenous and of some antiquity, notably the delicate situation of the first born son and his relationship with his father, and the position of authority of the parents-in-law of a married couple.

The foremost changes in the life-cycle segment of the social pattern are to be noted in that sector which would most interest the church. Since the Catholic church represents the earliest and most prolonged actively acculturating influence on the island, this is wholly expectable. In the realm of marriage, for example, the church has been included, rather than substituted, in that to the simple rite of marriage involving consent of both families, gift exchange, and marriage feast, the church ritual has been added. Interestingly enough, the church appears to have had little effect upon the indigenous concept of divorce which, until very recently, continued to be an unceremonious splitting up of a husband and wife relationship upon the slightest provocation. Here, however, the government has stepped in and, through attempted Naval enforcement of Chilean divorce laws, has introduced a change in the native idea of divorce to where it now involves the factors of blame and division of community property. For those who have not yet accepted this foreign concept, the old method of divorce has met with such troublesome difficul-

7 Alfred Métraux, *Ethnology of Easter Island* (Bulletin 160, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, pp. 101-119, Honolulu, 1940).

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ties from the island's administrators that its incidence in the past few years is said to have dropped noticeably.

It is in the matter of death and burial ritual that the church has shown a strong influence amounting to almost complete substitution of foreign for indigenous custom. However, the ancient feast formerly held on the day of death continues to be celebrated, along with the enforcement of certain eating taboos on the members of the deceased's family. The only influence the church has had on this celebration is to change its time to the day of burial. Whereas most of the natives are now seemingly content to have their deceased relatives go through the church ritual and be buried in the Catholic cemetery, I gathered a number of contemporary accounts of elderly men who, becoming ill, have gone to a secret cave to die. During our visit one old man became sick and disappeared from the village for almost two weeks. Since he worked for the sheep ranch, the administration attempted to find out where he had gone and what had happened to him. Considerable questioning brought forth the same answer, that the old man believed he was about to die and had probably gone to his secret cave.[8] In time he returned, well and healthy, but remained completely vague as to where he had been during his absence. As for the burial of the dead in ancient *ahus*, a secretly practiced custom in 1880,[9] I could learn nothing and, from all indications, this practice has ceased.

Beside the government's influence in lowering the incidence of divorce, it has been responsible in no small degree for a certain amount of change in the early sector of the life cycle. Thus, with the presence of a Naval-controlled hospital, doctor, and midwife, it must be presumed that much of the ancient practice surrounding the delivery of a baby, including the method of tying and severing the umbilical cord, has given way to more modern medical practices. However, it is interesting to note that the early custom of smearing red ocher into the umbilical wound continues up to the present time, along with the ceremonial *umu* given by the father's family to that of the mother, and at which time the mother must still eat the first food.[10] In this connection it should be noted that, while Métraux refers to this *umu* as a feast, my own informants seemed to regard it more as a ceremonial partaking of food.[11] That such may be the case is further strengthened by their description of an immediately following feast for friends and relatives in celebration of the first born child. The latter is not recorded by Métraux and

8 For an unsuccessful attempt at self-interment in a secret cave in 1922, see P. Sebastian Englert, *La Tierra de Hotu Matu'a* (Santiago, 1948), p. 52.

9 Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

10 *Idem*, pp. 102-109.

11 *Idem*, p. 103.

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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condition, still adherent to the bed rock and measuring 69 feet 9 inches in length.

That evening, after dark, the natives remaining with us entertained us with an exhibition of their manner of capturing the crayfish. Stripped to the skin and holding aloft in the left hand a high lighted torch composed of loose fagots, they would jump from rock to rock and bowlder to bowlder with the agility of monkeys. Peering into the depths below, and having discovered their prey, they would leap into the water, often to their necks, deftly seize the crustacean and pass it to a companion who, with another burning torch, attended them for the purpose. Again they would sight their game in a cleft, or under a submerged overhanging rock, and, swiftly inserting the hand, would rarely fail to bring forth a captive. For an hour or more the sport continued. The sight was a strange, wierd, savage, and interesting one, and the array of *ura* (Rapa Nui for crayfish), which at the termination of the hunt they proudly spread before us gave ample testimony to their dexterity.

Sunday, December 26, the writer passed quietly in camp, and the following day was devoted to further explorations and excavations.

Tuesday, December 28, we broke camp and abandoned Ana Haven, which had so long sheltered us, all the party, except the paymaster and writer, returning across the island to the ship, which had been moved around to La Perouse Bay, on the north side of the island, for the more convenient transportation on board of the selected image.

In company with Mr. Salmon, who had passed the previous night with us at the cave, and riding with him in his "buggy," we were taken to his house at Vaihu, formerly a Catholic mission but now abandoned as such. The church and parsonage, with outbuildings, are still standing, the former being used in part as a storehouse, while in the remaining portion divine service is held daily under native leadership. The parsonage, comprising three rooms, is occupied by Mr. Salmon as his dwelling, and he has here displayed a portion of his very curious, interesting, and valuable collection of Rapa Nui antiquities.

It is but just to note, in this place, that too much credit can not be awarded Mr. Salmon for the great interest he takes in everything pertaining to the island—its history, its people, traditions, and remains. He is an enthusiast upon this subject, has made it a study of years, and has devoted time, money, and his best energies toward assisting in elucidating the mystery which envelops this isolated mid-ocean island, its hieroglyphs, its rock carvings, its colossal remains and the strange people who wrought them. Mr. Salmon has resided here for a period of seven years in all, and during that time, in addition to his large collection, he has made a study of his subject, has interested himself in the natives and their improvement, and has accumulated a large amount of information, legends, and traditions, which otherwise, perhaps, would in a few years have perished with the people

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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estimated at 20,000, although other calculations give much smaller figures. I am of the opinion that in the days of the image and platform builders the population might have been even larger.

About the year 1863 the Peruvians carried off from the island in 15 vessels, as it is alleged, 5,000 of the inhabitants as agricultural laborers in Peru and to work the guano deposits of the Chincha Islands. By reason of the odium attached to this proceeding, the Peruvian Government, some time afterwards, was induced to return those who had not succumbed to their treatment and altered conditions of life. Smallpox broke out among these on the return voyage. It is stated that all except two died, and the disease, spreading among the people ashore, ravaged the island, many deaths resulting. Of those carried off by the Peruvians one old man, Pakomeo, who was taken to the Chinchas, and whom we saw, still survives, the last of the unfortunates.

Down to the year 1861 cannibalism is said to have been practiced by the natives. In that year a Jesuit mission was established on the island, at which time the population numbered about 1,500. Through the influence and teachings of the missionaries an almost radical change was wrought in the manners, habits, and character of the people, and, to a certain extent at least, they adopted the customs of civilized life.

When H. M. S. *Topaze* visited the island in 1868 there were but about 900 natives left, of whom less than 300 were females, with the numbers still rapidly declining, the proportion of deaths to births being given as 3 to 1. About the year 1875 some 500 were removed to Tahiti under contract to work on the sugar plantations of that island.

In the year 1878 the missionaries, who had done admirable work among them, departed from the island, taking with them about 300 of the people, who settled Gambier Archipelago.

When H. M. S. *Sappho* touched at the island in 1882 it was reported that but 150 of the inhabitants were left.

On the occasion of the *Mohican's* visit I received from Mr. Salmon, who had a complete census, with the names of every man, woman, and child on the island, the following summary:

Natives	155
Foreigners	11
Total number of inhabitants	166
Native men	68
Native women	43
Boys under 15 years of age	17
Girls under 15 years of age	27
Total number of natives	155
Tahitians	6
English	2
Americans	2
Frenchmen	1
Total number of foreigners	11

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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which is, however, misleading. They are wiry, lithe, strong, active, tireless on the march, capable of carrying heavy burdens long distances, indifferent to weariness, and seemingly equal to any amount of effort they might be induced to make. We saw this frequently exemplified on our tramp around the island, when, after a weary day's march, we would come into the camp foot-sore and tired, while they, fresh and active apparently, would go to work catching and dressing sheep, building fires, etc. If we complained that the water was "vai kava," bitter, they would endeavor to explain where better could be found and immediately start off, with bucket and canteen, on a tramp of a mile or two over the plain, or down into a crater, in order to bring us "vai maitai," good water.

These people proudly claim direct descent from the image and platform builders. It is not the writer's province to discuss this point, although strong arguments might be adduced to demonstrate the contrary. Be that as it may, it is very evident to the most casual observer either that the modern Rapa Nuiis belong, whether wholly or, which is more probable, in part, to a different race or that they are the "degenerate sons of worthy sires."

The color of their eyes is dark brown, with black brows and lashes, neither very heavy. Their expression of countenance is pleasing, mild, frank, modest, intelligent, and somewhat sad. They are slender but well formed, clean of limb, and the various parts of the body are well proportioned to each other. Their foreheads, while not very broad, are of good height and but slightly receding, which is also true of the facial angle generally. The head is well balanced and cheek bones are notably prominent. Their nose is quite straight and well shaped, with no marked spreading of the alae; mouths of moderate size and usually filled with excellent teeth, which, when the jaws are closed, come squarely into apposition; lips rather thin; hands and feet small. It may be mentioned that they attribute the beautiful appearance and excellent condition of their teeth to the chewing of sugar cane, large quantities of which they consume as food. There is nothing savage or repulsive looking about them, and some of their young women are decidedly comely and attractive. While in their habitations the evidences of good housewifery are nearly nil, they are quite cleanly in their personal habits and there is no unpleasant odor noticeable about their bodies. They all dress in European costume. They are a bright, intelligent, quick-witted people, of rather a nervous temperament; tractable and gentle in disposition, decidedly sympathetic and tender-hearted and markedly emotional in their natures, so that they are easily moved either to tears or laughter. In evidence of the latter trait in their character one or two instances may be adduced.

When the Catholic mission was first established on the island Chief Mati took a great liking to the reverend father in charge, evinced the greatest affection for him, and finally adopted him as his son. Such

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being the case, it may readily be conceived that when the mission was removed from the island and the father was compelled to bid farewell to his simple-minded, but loving and faithful, Rapa Nui friend the parting must have been a sad and painful one. In the ten years which have elapsed since that time Chief Mati has never forgotten his well-beloved son, the priest, and whenever, which is only at very long intervals, a white man arrives at the island Mati's first thought is to inquire the tidings of his far-away friend. On the first occasion when my associate, Dr. Whitaker, in company with Mr. Salmon, who had previously advised the doctor on the subject, called on Mati, the latter, now over fourscore and ten, confident that the doctor came from the priest's country and must necessarily know him, immediately began to inquire regarding him; if he was well and happy; if he still loved and remembered him. When the doctor, in order to humor and gratify the old man, wove a harmless and ingenious, but fictitious, narrative about the priest, in which he highly commended Mati, the latter groaned dismally, contorted his face, and wept like a child. Seeing this, his poor old wife approached her husband, laid her arm on his shoulder, looked up in his face a moment, and then, after a series of mournful grimaces, bowed her head on her arm and, in the abandon of grief, groaned and cried aloud. Then everyone among the Rapa Nuiis present, taking the cue from the old lady, lifted up their voices in chorus and for a time it fairly rained salt tears. The groans were dismal and the cries pitiful, so that the most callous might easily have been moved to compassion.

On another occasion the doctor was asked to see a little girl who was suffering with a cervical abscess. The usual crowd of men, women, and children was present. Had the doctor informed them in advance of what he intended doing they never would have consented to the proceeding. Quietly seating himself, he gently and unconcernedly drew the child toward him and, placing her head between his knees, drew from his pocket an abscess knife. That started the concert. The minute they saw it, and divined that he was going to cut the child, groans and lamentations and expressions of sympathy for the little one could be heard on all sides. Quickly incising the abscess the puss spurted and ran in a stream, whereupon the audience howled with renewed energy, curiosity having produced a temporary lull, and for a time the situation was interesting and entertaining to a degree. The child, who had scarcely felt the blade, and scared by the din about her, must needs pipe her little tune and join with the others. As soon as they saw that the child had not been harmed and understood the object of the apparent cruelty their demonstrations were just as pronounced in the other direction and they manifested their delight and gratification in expressions of joy, and peals of hysterical laughter, and were prepared to mount the doctor on a platform, so to speak, then and there.

As with all the natives throughout the South Sea islands, the Rapa Nui is undeniably, and very decidedly, averse to hard work. He delights

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
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which the competition for the egg continued and it was still taken to be interred at Raraku. The cult thus survived in a mutilated form the conversion of the island to Christianity, which was completed in 1868, and even the assembly of the remains of the clans into one place which took place about the same time; but it was finally crushed by the secular exploiters of the island, whose house is built at Mataveri with the foundation stones of the cannibal habitations. The request to be given the names of as many bird years as could be remembered met with an almost embarrassing response, eighty-six being quoted straight away; some of these may be the official names of bird-men and not represent a year, but they probably do so in most cases. Chronological sequence was achieved with fair certainty for eleven years prior to Rokunga, and in each case, in addition to the bird-name, the winner's own name was obtained as well as his clan and his family or sub-division; the hopu's name was also ascertained and his clan and subdivision. This list, though it doubtless is not complete, stood reasonably well the test of re-examination and extraneous evidence. Further back, though there is every reason to suppose that the year names given are authentic, the clans and other data supplied were not so reliable. The names of the iviatua who prophesied the event have not survived in the same manner.[1]

Legend relates that the manu-tara were not originally on Motu Nui. They lived, it is said, at one time, on a rock off the east end of the island, but every one came and ate them, so Hawa and Maké-maké sent them to a place on the mainland on the south coast, but still every one ate them; then they went up to the top of Rano Kao on the opposite side of the crater from Orongo and here was held the first festival; finally the birds went to Motu Nui.

[1] This folk-memory for bird chronicles is in curious contrast with the impossibility experienced in obtaining any satisfactory list of the "ariki" or chiefs, though they are said to have been only thirty in number.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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177 648 164 731 to be repatriated, only fifteen survived. These, on their return to the island, brought the disease with them, which spread rapidly with most fatal results to the population.

Meantime, shortly before the raid, the attention of the Roman 747 Catholic "Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary" in Valparaiso had been drawn to the island by the account received from a passing ship, and they determined to inaugurate a mission. Three of the Community left for Easter Island, their route taking them by way of Tahiti. Finally, only one continued, Eugène Eyraud, who landed on the island in January 1864. Eyraud was a lay brother in the Order, having been a merchant in South America; he devoted his life to take the Gospel to Easter, and the accounts of his work, which are extraordinarily interesting, leave a great impression of his courage and devotion.[1] He was alone on the island for eight or nine months, and was at the mercy of the natives, who stole his belongings, even to the clothes he was wearing, and compelled him to make a boat for them. In March 1866, Eyraud, after a visit to Chile, returned with another missionary, Father Roussel, and the two were for a while blockaded in a house which they had put up, but the tide now turned. Either Roussel was a man of greater determination than Eyraud, or with increased numbers a firmer attitude was possible. Surgeon Palmer of H.M.S. *Topaze* tells us that when one of the natives took up a stone with a menacing gesture, Roussel quietly felled him with his stick and went on his way, after which there was no further trouble. The missionaries were joined later in the year by two more of their number, and became a power in the land.

Eyraud on his return from Chile was suffering from phthisis, of which he died in August 1868. When he was nearing his end he asked Roussel if there still remained any heathen in the island, to which the Father replied "not one"; the last seven had been baptized on the Feast of the Assumption. It seems 164 natural to connect with Eyraud's illness the fact that there was 753 at the same time a severe epidemic of phthisis in the island; so 731 little was the need of precaution understood at this date, that even Surgeon Palmer, writing of the inroads made by consumption, remarks "which they (the natives) believe infectious."[2]

[1] See *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1866, 1867, 1869.
[2] *Journal Ethnological Society*, Vol. i. p. 373.

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The ravages of this disease, following on those of smallpox, reduced the population, which at the time of the arrival of the mission had stood at twelve hundred, by about one-fourth.

The remarks of the missionaries on native customs, particularly those dealing with their ceremonies, reflect credit on the observers at a time when such things were too often thought beneath notice; they will be referred to later. Their ethnological work was, however, limited by more pressing exigencies, by the difficulties of locomotion on the island, and by the language. Roussel compiled a vocabulary, which is useful to students, though not free from the mode of thought found in a well-known missionary dictionary, which translates hansom cab into the Swahili language. It is a curious fact that so completely were the terraces now ruined that the Fathers never allude to the statues, and seem scarcely to have realised their existence; but it is through them that we first hear of the wooden tablets carved with figures. The body of professors acquainted with this art of writing perished, either in Peru or by epidemic, and this, in connection with the introduction of Christianity, led to great destruction of the existing specimens of this most interesting script. The natives said that they burnt the tablets in compliance with the orders of the missionaries, though such suggestion would hardly be needed in a country where wood is scarce; the Fathers, on the contrary, state that it was due to them that any were preserved. Some certainly were saved by their means and through the interest shown in them by Bishop Jaussen of Tahiti, while two or three found their way to museums after the natives became aware of their value; but some or all of these existing tablets are merely fragments of the original. The natives told us that an expert living on the south coast, whose house had been full of such glyphs, abandoned them at the call of the missionaries, on which a man named Niari, being of a practical mind, got hold of the discarded tablets and made a boat of them wherein he caught much fish. When the "sewing came out," he stowed the wood into a cave at an ahu near Hanga Roa, to be made later into a new vessel there. Pakarati, an islander now living, found a piece, and it was acquired by the U.S.A. ship *Mohican*.

Side by side with the establishment of the religious power the secular had come into being. The master of the ship who had